

175 pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

131 It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are 167 very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the 161 state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of, 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

197 includes, among others, Mahican, Wappinger, and Pequot. Delawarean peoples spoke at least two mutually intelligible dialects termed Munsí and Lenape.⁵² There are indications, however, that Munsí was more like Mahican than Lenape. Zelsberger said:

The Unami and the Wunalachtico (Unalachtigo) . . . languages differ very little. That of the Monays . . . is very different from these, so that had they not dwelt nearer together and been in constant contact in recent times they would hardly understand each other. Yet the speech of each of these peoples is but a dialect of one and the same language. The language of the Mahikanders (Mahican) bears much resemblance to that of the Monays.⁵³

Zelsberger and Heckewelder⁵⁴ have also pointed out that the Nanticoke language was very similar to Delaware. Unfortunately, both Mahican and Nanticoke are extinct languages and cannot be examined by modern linguistic techniques. Suffice it to say that there was considerable dialectic diversity among the people who became the historic Delawares. Michelson has ventured the opinion that Delaware "as Zelsberger has presented it is not a single dialect but a composite," and Trowbridge concurred in this conclusion.⁵⁵ In sum, the linguistic evidence suggests a lack of unity among the people who became the Delawares, which reinforces my conclusion that at the dawn of historic times Delawarean peoples were not a cohesive or homogeneous cultural unit.

Population in the Seventeenth Century

161 Ignorance of the composition and location of all the subdivisions which were to make up the Delaware tribe, and lack of information concerning introduced diseases, which at an early date may have decimated their ranks, are enough to make population estimates of the early seventeenth-century Delawarean peoples hazardous. Mooney in 1911 estimated the Delawares and Munsis as numbering "close to 12,000 souls" in 1600, but he reduced this figure to 8,000 by 1928.⁵⁶ Kroeber has followed Mooney in using the latter figure.⁵⁷

The number of Delawarean peoples, whatever it may have been in 1600, was greatly reduced in the first century of contact with Europeans. In the literature of the seventeenth century the many allusions to this depopulation are unanimous in attributing it to disease, war, and demoralization. Alcoholism was a factor, but it was a greater contributor to depopulation in later times, although by the end of the seventeenth century the Delawares were described as loving drunkenness.⁵⁸ In the early part of the century the Munsis and Unamis suffered heavily in the Esopus wars with the Dutch,⁵⁹ and the Susquehannocks inflicted heavy casualties on the Unamis and Unalachtigos. In 1633, for example, the

⁵²C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 188-89; C. F. Voegelin, 1946, pp. 130-57.

⁵³Zelsberger, 1910, pp. 141-42.

⁵⁴Heckewelder, 1881, p. 122; Zelsberger, 1910, p. 141.

⁵⁵Michelson, 1912, p. 280; Trowbridge MS.

⁵⁶Mooney, 1911, p. 333; 1928, p. 4.

⁵⁷Kroeber, 1947, Table 7, p. 140.

⁵⁸Pastorius, 1912, p. 433.

⁵⁹Mooney, 1928, pp. 3-4.

OF THE DELAWARE INDIANS

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Susquehannock burned a Delaware town and killed "ninety men" as well as women and children.⁷⁰ Lindstrom in 1654 mentioned that both the Delawares and the Swedes were suffering from illness and that the natives were blaming the Swedes for sickness and death.⁷¹ Mooney said:

As early as 1677 the Delawares accused the whites of having brought the smallpox among them, and in a council at Burlington, New Jersey, their speaker stated that it had already ravaged the tribe three times — in his grandfather's time, in his father's time, and in his own time. One of these visitations was probably that of 1637-1638, which swept all the region from the Chesapeake Bay to Lake Huron. Another was probably the same noted as ravaging the Conestoga in 1661-1663.⁷²

Pastorius in a letter written in 1694 said:

A great many of these savages have died, even since I came here, so that there are hardly more than a fourth part of the number now existing that were to be seen when I came to the country ten years ago.⁷³

Denton as early as 1670 was able to say of the results of Indian contact with Europeans:

... it is to be admired how strangely they [i.e., Indians] have decreased by the Hand of God since the English first settling of these parts; for since my time, when there were six towns, they are reduced to two small villages, & it has been generally observed that where the English come to settle, a Divine Hand makes way for them, by removing or cutting off the Indians, either by wars one with the other, or by some raging mortal disease.⁷⁴

Kalm seems to have summed it up accurately when he remarked in the eighteenth century:

... as the Europeans proceeded to cultivate the land, the Indians sold their land, and went further into the country. But in reality few of the Indians really left the country in this manner; most of them ended their days before, either by wars among themselves, or by the small-pox... it has killed incredible numbers of them.... But brandy is said to have killed most of the Indians.⁷⁵

These scattered statements leave no room to doubt that the population decline of the Delawares in the seventeenth century was tremendous. There are two important factors to keep in mind concerning the early population and the subsequent depopulation. First, even if the estimates of the population in 1600 are grossly low, the population density in pre-Columbian times was surprisingly low considering the nature of the habitat and the capacity of the natives' technological system. The reasons for the low population density are discussed later. Second, the depopulation during the seventeenth century was a contributory factor in the ultimate appearance of the Delaware tribe. The emergence of the tribe is treated more fully under Acculturation.

⁷⁰De Vries, 1857, p. 36.

⁷¹Lindstrom, 1925, pp. 127-28.

⁷²Mooney, 1911, p. 333.

⁷³Pastorius, 1912, p. 426.

⁷⁴Denton, 1845, p. 6.

⁷⁵Kalm, 1937, I: 258-59.

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found. 114

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuylkill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

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PREFACE



THE following paper is intended to be the first of a series concerning different phases of the culture of the Lenape or Delaware Indians, once a numerous people forming a confederacy of three closely related tribes, the Unami, the Minsi or Muncey, and the Unala'tko or Unalachtigo, first encountered by the whites in what is now New Jersey, Delaware, eastern Pennsylvania, and southeastern New York, but at last accounts¹ reduced to some 1900 souls scattered in Oklahoma and the Province of Ontario, Canada, with a few in Wisconsin and Kansas. Of these the Lenape of Oklahoma seem to be mainly of Unami extraction, the rest largely Minsi, while the Unala'tko appear to have merged with the others and to have lost their identity.

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INDIAN NOTES

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731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land
belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786.
In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then
to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families
returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821
these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Govern-
ment to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they
were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had re-
moved to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish
Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had
moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware
sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the
Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among
the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the
"general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in
1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo
and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated,
while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments
as members of the Cherokee Nation.

● 161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in
a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and
connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village com-
posed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated
as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New
York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee
was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas,
about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on
three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a
slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the
Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iro-
quois destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with
the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe
have continued to the present day but were particularly close
during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations
westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the
Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and
Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these con-
tacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with
some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical
research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally
speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three
generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adop-
tion completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these con-
tacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence
of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

- 162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the
United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these
20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of
the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that
the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According
to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it
is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today.
Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all
Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short
genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also
with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the
Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian
blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had increased some three hundred in number.¹⁴⁴₁₆₁

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income. There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do for their white neighbors.¹⁰¹₄₂₃ ⁴³⁴_[427] ^[427]

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have an official representative to treat with the Federal Government on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief and the one getting the next highest number became assistant chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has been no recognized chief.¹⁷⁷₆₆ ⁶⁶⁶₆₂₂

¹Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (Senate Reports, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

INTRODUCTION

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

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FIELD OF ART

Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

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[P. 24, B] About 1913.

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PART IV

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Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859657
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I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than \$78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase